

Message Text

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EUR/WE:RBARBOUR

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S/S-O: P.K. JOHNSON

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 248495 TOSEC 160053

NODIS

E.O. 11652:XGDS-2

TAGS:PFOR, MO, US, UN, SP, SS

SUBJECT: ACTION MEMORANDUM - APPROACHES TO SPAIN, MOROCCO,
AND UN SEC GEN ON SPANISH SAHARA (S/S NO.7520897)

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM SISCO

1. THE PROBLEM.

DURING YOUR MEETING ON OCTOBER 17 WITH MOROCCAN AMBAS-
SADOR BOUTALEB, YOU TOLD HIM THAT WE WOULD MAKE A DEMARCHE
TO THE SPANIARDS ON THE SAHARA PROBLEM. FOLLOWING
BOUTALEB'S -ALL, IN MEETING WITH MESSRS. SISCO, ATHERTON
AND HARTMAN, YOU DECIDED TO INSTRUCT OUR EMBASSIES IN
RABAT AND MADRID TO APPROACH THEIR RESPECTIVE HOST GOVERN-
MENTS URGING THEM TO AVOID HASTY ACTION WHICH MIGHT
EXACERBATE THE SITUATION AND INSTEAD TO EXPLORE ALL OPPOR-

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TUNITIES FOR A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT. YOU ALSO DECIDED TO

INSTRUCT USUN TO TALK WITH SEC GEN WALDHEIM AND SUGGEST THAT HE TAKE AN ACTIVE ROLE IN EXPLORING THE POSSIBILITIES OF INITIATING DIPLOMATIC NEGOTIATIONS UNDER THE UN UMBRELLA. SINCE YOUR MEETINGS YESTERDAY, SPANISH UN PERMREP SUBMITTED LETTER OCTOBER 18 REQUESTING URGENT MEETING SECURITY COUNCIL ON SPANISH SAHARA. MEETING HAS BEEN SET FOR 11:00 A.M. OCTOBER 20. FOLLOWING FOR YOUR APPROVAL ARE SUGGESTED TEXTS OF INSTRUCTIONS TO BE CABLED TO RABAT, MADRID & USUN.

2. BEGIN TEXT TO RABAT

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ACTION IMMEDIATE RABAT

INFO IMMEDIATE USUN, MADRID, TUNIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: PFOR, MO, US, UN, SP, SS

SUBJECT: SPANISH SAHARA

TUNIS EYES ONLY FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ATHERTON

1. IN LIGHT OF ICJ ADVISORY OPINION, REPORT OF UN COMMISSION, AND SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS, NOTABLY KING HASSAN'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF PLANNED CIVILIAN MARCH ON SAHARA AND SPANISH REQUEST FOR UN SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING, WHICH HAS BEEN SET FOR 11:00 A.M. OCTOBER 20, DEPARTMENT HAS DECIDED TO MAKE SIMULTANEOUS APPROACHES TO KING HASSAN, FOREIGN MINISTER CORTINA, AND UN SEC GEN WALDHEIM URGING THAT PRECIPITOUS ACTION BE AVOIDED AND DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES BE EXPLORED WITH VIEW TO ATTAINING MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AND PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN SAHARA. SEE SEPTELS FOR MESSAGES TO MADRID AND USUN.

2. EMBASSY REQUESTED DELIVER FOLLOWING MESSAGE FROM SECRETARY TO KING HASSAN: BEGIN TEXT: YOUR MAJESTY: HIS EXCELLENCY, AMBASSADOR BOUTALEB, CALLED ON ME OCTOBER 17 TO PERSONALLY DELIVER YOUR RESPONSE TO MY MESSAGE. SECRET

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SAGE OF OCTOBER 4 EXPRESSING MY CONCERN OVER THE DEVELOPMENTS IN THE SAHARA. I WAS GRATIFIED BY YOUR FRANK EXPOSITION OF YOUR GOVERNMENT'S POSITION ON THE ISSUE AND BY YOUR REASSURANCES THAT MOROCCO IS NOT CONTEMPLATING MILITARY ACTION.

3. I AM AWARE OF YOUR MAJESTY'S SPEECH AND I HAVE NOTED YOUR INTENTION TO ORGANIZE A CIVILIAN MARCH INTO THE

SAHARA. PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF THE ICJ OPINION AND THE UN FACT-FINDING MISSION REPORT, I WISH TO RESTATE MY CONVICTION THAT THIS IS A PROBLEM WHICH LENDS ITSELF TO RESOLUTION THROUGH DIPLOMATIC MEANS. TO REITERATE WHAT I SAID TO AMBASSADOR BOUTALEB ON OCTOBER 17, AS YOU CONSIDER FURTHER YOUR PLANS FOR A MARCH, I HOPE YOU WILL ALLOW A REASONABLE PERIOD OF TIME TO EXPLORE ALL OPPORTUNITIES FOR A SETTLEMENT WHICH WILL AVOID MILITARY OR POLITICAL CONFRONTATION.

4. AS I INFORMED AMBASSADOR BOUTALEB, WE ARE MAKING A SIMILAR APPROACH TO MADRID. MY PERSONAL EMISSARY, ASSISTANT SECRETARY ATHERTON, WILL BE IN MOROCCO ON OCTOBER 23-24, AT WHICH TIME I HOPE HE WILL HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THIS MATTER WITH YOUR MAJESTY IN A FRANK AND CONSTRUCTIVE MANNER. WARM REGARDS. HENRY A. KISSINGER. END TEXT.

3. BEGIN TEXT TO MADRID

SECRET/NODIS

ACTION IMMEDIATE MADRID

INFO IMMEDIATE USUN, RABAT, TUNIS

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: PFOR, MO, US, UN, SP, SS

SUBJECT: SPANISH SAHARA

TUNIS EYES ONLY FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ATHERTON
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1. IN LIGHT OF ICJ ADVISORY OPINION, REPORT OF UN COMMISSION AND SUBSEQUENT DEVELOPMENTS, NOTABLY KING HASSAN'S ANNOUNCEMENT OF PLANNED CIVILIAN MARCH ON SAHARA AND SPANISH REQUEST FOR UN SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING, DEPARTMENT HAS DECIDED TO MAKE SIMULTANEOUS APPROACHES TO KING HASSAN, FOREIGN MINISTER CORTINA AND UN SECGEN WALDHEIM URGING THAT PRECIPITOUS ACTION BE AVOIDED AND DIPLOMATIC INITIATIVES BE EXPLORED WITH VIEW TO ATTAINING MUTUALLY ACCEPTABLE AND PEACEFUL SOLUTION IN SAHARA. SEE SEPTELS FOR MESSAGES TO RABAT AND USUN.

2. YOU SHOULD SEEK IMMEDIATE APPOINTMENT WITH CORTINA OR ROVIRA, AS YOU JUDGE BEST, TO CONVEY FOLLOWING POINTS:
A. ADVISORY OPINION BY ICJ, FOLLOWED BY HASSAN'S CALL FOR

PEACEFUL MARCH INTO SAHARA, HAS INTRODUCED NEW ELEMENTS IN SAHARAN QUESTION.

B. USG BELIEVES, DESPITE MOROCCAN ACTIONS, THAT DIPLOMATIC APPROACH HAS NOT BEEN EXHAUSTED AND POSSIBILITY OF PEACEFUL SOLUTION REMAINS OPEN. INDEED, THE ACTIONS BY THE UN BODIES MAY HAVE CREATED NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR SUCH SOLUTION.

C. WE HAVE SUPPORTED SPAIN'S REQUEST FOR SECURITY COUNCIL MEETING AND HOPE IT WILL PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLORE OTHER DIPLOMATIC ALTERNATIVES WHICH COULD LEAD TO THE PEACEFUL NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT WHICH EVERYONE DESIRES AND

WE HOPE YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL BE OPEN MINDED ABOUT THE PRECISE MEANS OF ADVANCING THE DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS.

D. OUR HOPE IS THAT UN MIGHT BE ABLE TO PLAY A CENTRAL ROLE, BUT THIS POSSIBILITY WOULD NOT BE HELPED BY ANGRY PUBLIC DEBATES WHICH WOULD HARDEN THE ATTITUDES OF THE PARTICIPANTS. END TEXT.

4. BEGIN TEXT TO USUN

CONFIDENTIAL/EXDIS

ACTION IMMEDIATE USUN

INFO IMMEDIATE RABAT, MADRID, TUNIS
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E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, MO, US, UN, SP, SS

SUBJECT: SPANISH SAHARA

TUNIS EYES ONLY FOR ASSISTANT SECRETARY ATHERTON

1. WE REGRET SPANIARDS HAVE INSISTED ON IMMEDIATE MEETING OF SC ON THIS SUBJECT SINCE WE WOULD HAVE PREFERRED MORE TIME TO EXHAUST ALL POSSIBLE DIPLOMATIC AVENUES FOR DEFUSING THE SITUATION PRIOR TO OPEN DEBATE IN COUNCIL, WHICH IS CERTAIN TO SET OFF AN ADVERSARY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE PARTIES DIRECTLY CONCERNED.

2. WE ASSUME THAT WALDHEIM IS ALREADY URGING THE PARTIES TO DEMONSTRATE MAXIMUM RESTRAINT AND TAKE NO ACTION LIKELY TO EXACERBATE THE SITUATION. WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE WALDHEIM PLAYING AS ACTIVE A ROLE AS POSSIBLE IN PROMOTING PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT PROCESS IN CONJUNCTION WITH WHATEVER ACTION INITIATED BY SC. FYI: ATHERTON WILL BE VISITING

RABAT AS SECRETARY'S EMISSARY. VISIT ALREADY SCHEDULED IN CONTEXT OF LONG PLANNED N. AFRICAN TRIP. HE WILL BE SEEING KING ON THURSDAY, OCTOBER 23, AND WILL URGE THAT EVERY POSSIBILITY BE EXPLORED TO AVOID A SITUATION OF DIPLOMATIC OR MILITARY CONFRONTATION. END FYI.

3. WHILE WE ARE PREPARED TO BE AS HELPFUL AS POSSIBLE BEHIND THE SCENES, OUR BASIC POSITION IS ONE OF NEUTRALITY. WE OF COURSE PREFER TO AVOID, IF POSSIBLE, BEING FORCED TO TAKE PUBLIC POSITIONS ON THE MERITS OF THE CASE.

4. AT OCTOBER 20 SC MEETING, YOU SHOULD SUPPORT ADOPTION OF AGENDA IN KEEPING WITH OUR LIBERAL TRADITION OF ACCEPTING DEBATE ON ANY RELEVANT SUBJECT WITHIN SC COMPETENCE. YOU SHOULD ALSO QUIETLY ENCOURAGE IDEA THAT PRINCIPAL FOCUS OF CONSULTATION SHOULD BE ON THE PARTIES IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, TO SEE WHETHER A CONSENSUS BETWEEN THEM CAN BE ACHIEVED.

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5. AS FIRST AND MOST URGENT STEP IT WOULD BE DESIRABLE IF SC PRES WERE TO BE AUTHORIZED BY SC MEMBERS TO ISSUE IMMEDIATE APPEAL TO ALL PARTIES TO EXERCISE RESTRAINT AND DO NOTHING WHICH WOULD IMPEDE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.

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6. IN SECOND PHASE, CREATION BY SC OF VISITING MISSION, AS DEPINIES ADVOCATES, WHICH WOULD ESTABLISH WHETHER A THREAT TO PEACE EXISTS IN THE AREA STRIKES US AS ATTRACTIVE POSSIBILITY. IT IMMEDIATELY ENGAGES UN IN A DIPLOMATIC TIME-BUYING EFFORT AND OPENS THE DOOR TO FOLLOW-UP ACTION BY SYG OR SC. NATURALLY WE WOULD NOT WISH TO BE COMMITTED TO ANY SPECIFIC PROPOSITION UNTIL SEEING THE TEXT OF A RESOLUTION, BUT YOU MAY INDICATE IN INFORMAL CONSULTATIONS ON THIS SUBJECT, WITHOUT TAKING A LEAD, THAT ESTABLISHMENT OF SUCH A MISSION WOULD APPEAR TO US TO BE A REASONABLE PROPOSITION DEPENDING ON TERMS OF REFERENCE AND COMPOSITION.

7. FOREGOING PROPOSAL COULD BE ACCOMPANIED BY SC REQUEST TO SYG TO USE HIS BEST OFFICES WITH THE PARTIES TO PROMOTE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT.

8. YOU SHOULD SEE WALDHEIM AND URGE THAT IN ADDITION TO COUNSELING RESTRAINT HE CONSIDER LENDING HIS GOOD OFFICES TO THE PARTIES TO ENCOURAGE DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM PEACEFULLY, WHETHER OR NOT SC FORMALLY ASKS HIM TO DO SO. END TEXT.

5. RECOMMENDATION: THAT YOU APPROVE SUGGESTED TEXTS.

APPROVE AS AMENDED

6. APPROVED BY SISCO AND CLEARED BY NEA: SAUNDERS;
IO: BUFFUM; EUR/WE: BARBOUR; AND S: J. COVEY. INGERSOLL

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